

Message Text

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USUN FOR GOVERNOR SCRANTON

FOLLOWING REPEAT TOKYO 18551 ACTION SECSTATE 17 DEC QUOTE

UNCLAS TOKYO 18551

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO:
WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENT FORD
PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER
SECTREAS SIMON
SECTREAS DESIGNATE BLUMENTHAL
ATTGEN LEVI
USUN FOR AMB SCRANTON
UN AMB DESIGNATE YOUNG
CIA DIR GEORGE BUSH
CHAIRMAN ARTHUR BURNS
SECSTATE KISSINGER
SECSTATE DESIGNATE VANCE
CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS (FOR SCOTT COHEN IN SEN PERCY'S OFFICE)
IBRD US EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR TO PASS
TO PRES ROBERT MACNAMARA

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FROM SENATOR CHARLES PERCY

E.O. 11652: N/A
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRIMIN MIKI AND REVIEW OF WEEK WITH JAPANESE
POLITICAL, BUSINESS AND ACADEMIC LEADERS

SUMMARY. PRIMIN MIKI SAW DECEMBER 5 ELECTION AS HURTING
LDP BUT THE BEST RESULT FOR JAPANESE DEMOCRACY. PRIMIN
CONCERNED THAT BALANCE OF POWER REMAINS ON THE KOREAN

PENINSULA. IF US DOES REMOVE TROOPS, IT SHOULD BE GRADUAL SO ADJUSTMENTS IN POWER BALANCE COULD BE MADE. KOREA AND 200 MILE FISHING LIMIT WERE TOPICS OF INTEREST TO ALL PARTIES. OTHER ISSUES WERE TRADE, ECONOMIC GROWTH, ENERGY, NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE, AND JAPANESE COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES. SUGGEST THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CONSIDER OPENING JOINT TALKS WITH JAPANESE AND GERMANS TO COORDINATE ECONOMIC POLICIES TO ACCELERATE GROWTH POSSIBLY TO INCLUDE STEPPED UP MONETARY FLOWS TO LDC'S TO STIMULATE DEMAND IN DC'S. WOULD PERSONALLY LIKE TO SEE SOME CONSULTATION AND NEGOTIATION ON POSSIBLE REDUCTION IN US GROUND FORCES IN KOREA OVER SOME TIME PERIOD TO BE NEGOTIATED. END SUMMARY.

1. THIS MESSAGE IS MY LAST REPORT TO PRESIDENT FORD AND SECSTATE KISSINGER AND IS SENT ALSO IN RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S REQUEST THAT MEMBERS OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE PROVIDE HIM AND SECSTATE DESIGNATE WITH OBSERVATIONS FROM ABROAD AFFECTING US FOREIGN POLICY.

2. ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, WE MET WITH PRIME MINISTER TAKEO MIKI. DECEMBER 17 HE WILL ANNOUNCE HIS RESIGNATION, TAKING THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DECEMBER 5 ELECTION LOSS OF THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LDP). PRIMIN CALLED THE ELECTION THE LOCKHEED ELECTION AND SAID THE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE WAS CORRECT. HE SAID THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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HE THOUGHT THE LDP WAS DEEPLY HURT BY THE ELECTION BUT THIS IMPACT WOULD ONLY BE TEMPORARY. HE STATED THAT HE BELIEVE THE ELECTION WAS VERY HELPFUL FOR THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN. THE PRIMIN SAW TWO TASKS THAT MUST NOW BE ACCOMPLISHED, HOW TO STOP A RECURRENCE OF A LOCKHEED SCANDAL AND HOW TO REFORM THE LDP.

3. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, THE PRIMIN SAID THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT THE NEW LEADER CHOSEN BY HIS PARTY. IT IS BELIEVED BY MOST POLITICAL ANALYSTS IN TOKYO THAT THIS WILL BE THE FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN TAKEO FUKUDA. THE PRIMIN NOTED THAT THIS SELECTION WILL TAKE PLACE ALONG LINES OF LDP FACTIONS. THE PRIMIN POINTED OUT THAT HIS PREDECESSOR,(

4. TANAKA, HEADS ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL OF THESE FACTIONS. TANAKA HAS BEEN INDICATED AND ARRESTED AS A RESULT OF MIKI PUSHING THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL. HE, HOWEVER,; 2- 433)3:53\$?6 #8 \$8 548:5, IN THE OPINION OF POLITICAL OBSERVERS BECAUSE HE BROUGHT SO MANY POLITICAL BENEFITS TO IT. TANAKA HAS ALIGNED HIS FORCES WITH TWO OTHER FACTIONS OF THE LDP TO FORCE MIKI'S RESIGNATION. MIKI WAS A COMPROMISE PRIMIN IN HIS PARTY AND HEAD THE SMALLEST FACTION IN THE LDP.

4. THE PRIMIN IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION STATED THAT HE WOULD NOT RENEGOTIATE THE LOCKHEED DOCUMENT TRANSFER AGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS THE INTENT OF THAT AGREEMENT, HE SAID, TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. HE STATED THAT HE WAS STRONGLY COMMITTED TO THIS PRINCIPLE AND THOUGH THE MAJORITY OF RAPANESE PEOPLE AND ALL THE MINORITY POLITICAL PARTIES WANTED THE LOCKHEED DOCUMENTS PUBLICLY RELEASED IN THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WAS GOING TO STAND BY THE AGREEMENT.

5. ON THE ISSUE OF US MILITARY FORCES IN KOREA, THE PRIMIN STATED THAT HE FELT THE MILITARY FORCES ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA WERE RELATIVELY WELL BALANCED. THE MOST UNCLASSIFIED

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IMPORTANT ISSUE WAS NOT TO DISTURB THIS BALANCE. THEREFORE,

ANY AMERICAN MOVE IN RELATION TO THE PENINSULA SHOULD BE GRADUAL SO THAT THERE COULD BE ADJUSTMENTS AND THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH NOT DISTURBED.

6. THE ISSUE OF US TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM KOREA WAS DISCUSSED BY EVERY POLITICAL PARTY WITH WHICH THE DELEGATION MET. THEY EXPRESSED CONCERNS OVER THE ISSUE RANGED FROM APPREHENSION TO COMPLETE APPROVAL, MOVING RESPECTIVELY FROM RIGHT TO LEFT ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. THE COMMON THREAD THROUGH ALL THE DISCUSSIONS WAS THE DESIRE BY THE JAPANESE TO BE CONSULTED AND THAT THERE BE NO MORE DIPLOMATIC HOCKS AS DELIVERED ON THE CHINA VISIT ISSUE. WE REPEATEDLY ASSURED THE JAPANESE THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAVE GUARANTEED FULL CONSULTATION BEFORE ANY DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE. FONMIN OKOSAKA WAS NOT RECEPTIVE TO THE IDEA OF ANY RAPID TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM KOREA. I HAD THE DISTINCT FEELING ANY MENTION OF NUMBER OR SPECIFIC TIMETABLES MADE HIM NERVOUS.

7. OF EQUAL CONCERN BY ALL JAPANESE POLITICAL PARTIES WAS THE ISSUE OF FISHERIES AND THE 200 MILE LIMIT. IT IS THE JAPANESE BELIEF THAT BOTH THE USSR AND THE US UNILATERALLY EXTENDED THEIR SEA LIMIT THEREBY THREATENING JAPANESE ACCESS TO FOOD SUPPLIES. FIFTY PERCENT OF JAPANESE PROTEIN COMES FROM OCEAN FISH. OF THIS FIFTY PERCENT,

ROUGHLY THREE-FOURTHS IS TAKEN FROM WATERS NOW CLAIMED BY THE USSR AND THE US. THE DELEGATION MADE THE STRONG POINT THAT THE US IMPOSITION OF THE 200 MILE LIMIT WAS MADE FOR REASONS OF CONSERVATION OF FOOD RESOURCES AND NOT THE UNILATERAL ACQUISITION OF FISHING RIGHTS. THE DELEGATION ASSURED JAPANESE QUESTIONERS THAT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS EQUITABLE CATCHES COULD BE ARRANGED FOR JAPANESE NEEDS.

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8. JAPANESE EXPRESSED CONCERNS ON ECONOMICS DEALT ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WITH TRADE AND THE FEAR OF PROTECTIONIST ACTION IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE. THEY POINTED OUT THAT THEIR LARGE TRADE SURPLUS OF SOME TEN BILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR, ROUGHLY ONE HALF OF WHICH IS WITH THE US, IS DUE TO THE SLOW GROWTH IN THEIR OWN ECONOMY. THIS SLOW GROWTH HAS HELD DOWN DEMAND IN JAPAN FOR FOREIGN GOODS BUT FOREIGN MARKETS HAVE CONTINUED DEMANDING JAPANESE GOODS. WHEN THE DELEGATION ASKED POLITICAL LEADERS THAT THEY WERE GOING TO RECTIFY THIS SLOW GROWTH SITUATION IN JAPAN, THE EFFORTS DESCRIBED WERE VERY MODEST. THERE IS A GROWING CONSENSUS IN JAPAN THAT THE RAPID GROWTH PERIOD IS OVER, THAT CONSERVATIVE ECONOMIC RELIGION IS NECESSARY FOR THE COUNTRY AND THAT THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM SHOULD TOLERATE THE RESULTS OF THIS JAPANESE SITUATION.

9. THESE OBSERVATIONS WERE REINFORCED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH FINMIN OHIRA. HE FELT A TAX CUT WOULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE BECAUSE THE PEOPLE WOULD SAVE THE MONEY AND THAT THE EXPANSION OF FISCAL SPENDING WAS LIMITED BY THE SIZE OF THE GOVERNMENT DEFICIT. HE PUT ASIDE THE THOUGHT OF JAPAN RUNNING A TRADE OR A CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT. SEEMINGLY, IT IS FOR OTHERS TO ACCEPT THIS DEFICIT BECAUSE OF JAPAN'S SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF HAVING NO RAW MATERIALS OR ENERGY. IT MUST BE ASSUMED THAT JAPAN IS STILL LOOKING FOR EXPORT LEAD GROWTH.

10. FOR A COUNTRY ALMOST COMPLETELY DEPENDENT ON EXTERNAL SOURCES OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS, I WAS SURPRISED TO FIND THE GENERAL LACK OF INTEREST IN ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OR BETTER ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE LESS DEVELOPED WORLD. JAPANESE ENERGY POLICY IS ONE OF UNCLASSIFIED

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CONSERVATION AT HOME ESPECIALLY BY INDUSTRY, AND DIVERSIFICATION ABROAD. THEY ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT PRICE BUT SEE THE STATUS QUO AS SOMETHING THEY CAN DO LITTLE ABOUT. THEREFORE THEY ARE DOING SURPRISINGLY LITTLE IN ENERGY RESEARCH AND ARE DEPENDING ON THE US AND EUROPE FOR ANY TECHNOLOGICAL WORK. THE ONE AREA OF GREAT CONCERN WAS THE THOUGHT THAT THEY MIGHT BE CLOSED OUT OF ACCESS TO TECHNOLOGY. THERE IS GREAT ANXIETY OVER LIMITING THE FLOW OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO JAPAN BECAUSE OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUE.

11. ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES THERE WAS NO INTEREST EXHIBITED AT ALL BY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF LEADERS WE SPOKE WITH, PARTICULARLY THE FINANCE MINISTER WHO WOULD MAKE SECRETARY SIMON LOOK LIKE A FLAMING LIBERAL. NUMEROUS TIME I PUT FORTH THE ISSUE OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE ONLY TO RECEIVE NO RESPONSE OR AN EXPRESSION OF BLAND CONCERN. FINANCE MINISTER OHIRA SAID THE GAP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WAS GOING TO CONTINUE TO GROW AND THERE WAS LITTLE WE COULD DO ABOUT IT. HE SAID HE DIDN'T UNDERSTAND WHY THE AMERICANS KEPT PUSHING THEIR IDEAS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON THE LESS DEVELOPED WORLD. HE THOUGHT THE AFRICANS SHOULD BE LEFT TO LIVE AS THEY THE AFRICANS DESIRED AND THE ASIANS AS THE ASIANS DESIRED.

12. ONE SMALL ISSUE THAT CAME UP NUMEROUS TIMES WAS JAPANESE AIR RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES. THE US DELEGATION EXPLAINED THAT THEY THOUGHT THE PROBLEMS WAS A RESULT OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL AVIATION BUSINESS AND THAT THE INEQUITIES RAISED BY JAPAN WOULD HAVE A FAIR HEARING IN THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, THE DELEGATION POINTED OUT, IT WAS ALSO NECESSARY THAT JAPAN BE OPEN TO US GRIEVANCE, THE MOST APPARENT BEING THE INEQUITABLE LANDING FEES IN JAPAN.
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QEM ACADEMICS WITH WHOM THE DELEGATION SPOKE SAW THE JAPANESE ELECTION AS A SEARCH FOR NEW POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. THIS SEARCH TOOK PLACE IN THE MIDDLE OR MODERATE SEGMENTS OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. THIS TREND IS SEEN BY ACADEMIC ANALYSTS AS PART OF A BROADER SEARCH OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE FOR NEW NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. THE ACCEPTED POST-WAR OBJECTIVE OF NATIONAL MATERIAL ECONOMIC GROWTH TO REBUILD JAPAN AND CATCH UP WITH THE WEST HAS BEEN FAIRLY WELL ACHIEVED. NATURAL OBJECTIVES OF QUALITY RATHER THAN QUANTITY ARE BEGINNING TO BE SOUGHT ACCORDING TO THESE SOURCES. THESE ACADEMIC ANALYSTS SAW THIS SEARCH FOR NEW OBJECTIVES AND NEW SITUATIONS CAUSING THE POLITICAL SHIFTS IN SUPPORT FOR THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE LAST ELECTION.

14. IN MY OWN VIEW, THE LDP RESPONSE TO THEIR OWN LOSS SEEMS TO BE POLITICS AS USUAL. THE FACTIONALISM OF THE LDP WHICH WAS SO HEAVILY CRITICIZED DURING THE ELECTIONS IS ONCE AGAIN SURFACING THE OLD LEADERSHIP TO CARRY ON. THE ETERNAL POST-WAR TRIANGLE OF LDP, BUSINESS AND THE BUREAUCRACY STILL HOLDS POWER. PRIMIN MIKI MIGHT BE ABLE TO BRING REFORM BY PLAYING A SPOILERS ROLE IF HE DOESN'T GET HIS WAY, BUT TOKYO ANALYSTS DO NOT BELIEVE HE WILL BE HIGHLY EFFECTIVE.

15. THIS IS NOT TO END IN A NOTE OF DISCOURAGEMENT. THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR AND THE ELECTION SHOW THE STRENGTH

THAT IS NOW INHERENT IN THE JAPANESE POLITICAL SYSTEM.
JAPAN HAS BUILT AN ORDERLY, STABLE, MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIETY.
IT IS NOW BEGINNING TO DEFINE THE TYPE AND TYPE OF JAPANESE
LIFE IT WOULD LIKE TO CREATE. THERE ARE NUMEROUS DYNAMIC
YOUNG LEADERS IN POLITICS AND THE MIDDLE MANAGEMENT OF
BUSINESS. WHILE STILL A DECIDED MINORITY, THEY ARE LARGE
ENOUGH TO EXHIBIT THEIR TALENTS AND THEIR DISAFFECTION.
SOON, BY MERE CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS, THE POST-WORLD
WAR II LEADERSHIP GENERATION WILL PASS AND A NEW LEVEL
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OF JAPANESE LEADERSHIP WILL RISE.

16. IN MORE THAN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF EXPOSURE TO US-
JAPAN BUSINESS AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, I DON'T FEEL
THERE HAS BEEN A BETTER TIME WITH FEWER SUBSTANTIVE
BILATERAL DIVISIVE ISSUES. US MILITARY PRESENCE IN JAPAN
IS NOT A HIGH PROFILE ISSUE. MOST OF THE PROBLEMS OF
CONCERN ARE EXTERNAL TO JAPAN'S BORDERS.

17. I SEE THE ECONOMICS ISSUES, EXASPERBATED BY
CONTINUED SLOW GROWTH, AS A POTENTIAL AREA FOR MAJOR PROBLEMS. I WOULD RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CONSIDER OPENING JOINT TALKS WITH THE JAPANESE AND GERMANS TO SEE HOW ECONOMIC POLICIES CAN BE COORDINATED SO THAT THE THEREE "ENGINE" ECONOMIES CAN MORE EFFECTIVELY DRIVE GROWTH IN THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, POSSIBLY EVEN STEPPING UP DECELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO THE LDC'S AS A MEANS OF BOTH STIMULATING OUR ECONOMIES AND CONSTRUCTIVELY ANSWERING THEIR GROWING GRIEVANCES. A SECOND POTENTIAL AREA OF TROUBLE RELATES TO THE NECESSITY TO INCLUDE THE JAPANESE FULLY AND COMPLETELY IN CONSULTATIONS ON ALL MAJOR ISSUES. THE JAPANESE CONTINUE TO HAVE HIGH RATIO OF ANXIETY DUE TO THEIR GEOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL ISOLATION. THE INSCRUTABLE "WESTERNS" MUST CONTINUE TO OVERCOME OUR EUROPEAN BIAS AND GUARANTEE JAPANESE INCLUSION.

18. I PERSONALLY NEEL THAT THE FOLLOWING "PACKAGE"
INVOLVING US TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTH KOREA COULD BE
SOLD TO THE GOJ:

A) GRADUALLY WITHDRAW APPROXIMATELY ONE-HALF US
GROUND FORCES OVER A PERIOD OF EIGHTEEN MONTHS TO TWO YEARS.

B) RETAIN US AIR FORCE PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT
FOR INDEFINITE PERIOD IN FUTURE.

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C) OCCASIONALLY CONDUCT JOINT MANEUVERS WITH

SOUTH KOREAN FORCES.

D) RETAIN NAVAL PRESENCE.

E) RECEIVE ASSURANCE FROM PEKING THAT PRC WILL USE
INFLUENCE TO RESTRAIN KIM AS WE WILL CONTINUE TO
RESTRAIN
PARK.

F) RETAIN AIR POWER IN JAPANESE BASES (MISAWA)
AS A BACK-UP.

G) US TO USE ITS GOOD OFFICES TO ENCOURAGE RESUMP-
TION OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREAN TALKS AT LEAST TO COVER
EXCHANGES OF FAMILIES, CORRESPONDENCE AND COMMUNICATIONS.
THE ABOVE COULD ONLY BE IMPLEMENTED AFTER FULL CONSUL-
TATION WITH GOVERNMENTS OF JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA.

19. THE FOREGOING REPRESENTS MY OWN VIEWS AND MAY NOT
NECESSARILY REPRESENT VIEWS OF DELEGATION CHAIRMAN TOM
FOLEY, SENATORS SCHWEKER AND DURKIN, AND CONGRESSMEN
RAILSBACK, STEIGER, DUNCAN AND MINETA.
HODGSON
UNQTE. KISSINGER

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